

THE

Lawfulness, Glory and Advantage,

Of Giving Immediate and Effectual

RELIEF

TO THE

PROTESTANTS

IN THE

CEVENNES

TOGETHER

With the WAYS and MEANS to succeed
in such an Enterprize.

AS ALSO

A Geographical and Historical Description of the Ceven-
nes, and an Account of the present Insurrection there.

Humbly submitted to the

Consideration of the QUEEN's most excellent Ma-
jesty, His Royal Highness Prince GEORGE of
Denmark, and the rest of Her Majesty's most Honour-
able PRIVY COUNCIL.

The Second Edition with Additions.

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A Geographical and Historical Description of the Country
and an Account of the present Situation thereof

By the Hon. the Secretary of the Admiralty

Continuation of the W A Y and M D S
of the Royal Highness Prince GEORGE of
Hanover, and the son of Her Majesty's most Excellent Ma-
jesty, GEORGE III.

By the Hon. the Secretary of the Admiralty

LONDON

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R E L I E F

TO THE

PROTESTANTS in the *CEVENNES*, &c.

Humbly submitted to the Consideration of the
QUEEN, the **PRINCE**, and the
PRIVY COUNCIL.

THE late insurrection in the *Cevennes* has been so prosperous in its Beginning, and may be so extensive in its Consequences, that I hope, with some assurance, that what I am going to offer, will meet with a favourable Reception, not only at the Hands of her **SACRED MAJESTY**, and of the Illustrious Members of Her most Honourable Privy Council, but also from all the good People of *England*,

land, since I have no other aim in this Writing, than the Glory and Honour of Her Majesty, and Her auspicious Government, the Advancement of the Protestant Religion, the Prosperity of this happy and powerful Nation, and the Good of the Common Cause.

The hasty and prodigious Growth of the French Power has justly alarm'd all Europe for above these Thirty Years past; and the late Accession of the Spanish Dominions to the House of Bourbon, has so far increas'd the Jealousies of the English, Germans and Dutch, as to unite them once more in Confederacy against a Prince, who seems to have nothing less in Chase, than Universal Monarchy.

GOD Almighty has already bless'd the Justice of Her Majesty's Arms with such wonderful Successes, both by Sea and Land, in one single Campaign, as equal the Properties of many Years of other Monarchs: And are a true Earnest, that Heaven will ever favour the Undertakings of a QUEEN, who is truly GOD's Vice-Gerent; whose Throne is founded on Equity, and whose Thoughts are never diverted from Piety and Devotion, but by the indispensable Cares of Her Government.

On the other Hand, the French King, by his unwarrantable Encroachments upon his Neighbours; his violent Oppression and Persecution of his own Subjects; and his daring the very Majesty of Heaven, by his Haughtiness and unbounded Ambition, seems to have provok'd the Wrath of the Almighty, and to be threatned with a sudden Fall. And indeed, the Periods of Empire, like natural Bodies, are observ'd to grow only to a certain Time, and to a certain Size, which they are not to exceed.

Now

Now as GOD Almighty does generally employ humane Means and second Causes, to Chastize the Wicked, Humble the Proud, and Relieve the Oppress'd, so it is a Duty incumbent on those, whom he vouchsafes to honour with the Execution of his Designs, to be attentive to, and timely lay hold on, the Occasions which Providence throws before them: For even worldly Prudence teacheth us, that in great Undertakings, the improving of Opportunities, goes a greater way than the starting of them.

Besides, it has been remark'd by a sound * Politician, ' That there is a critical Point in the Declining
' of all States, where their Ruin would be unavoidable,
' if one knew how easie it were to destroy them :
' But generally Men are contented with a little, when
' they might do more, making their Want either of
' Foresight, Spirit, or Resolution, pass for Prudence.

And here I might observe, That the most unhappy Effect of Domestick Divisions is, that they either divert or weaken the Efforts that ought to be made in Time of War, against the Common Enemy; But this Reflection, I am sure, has no Relation to our present Purpose. For the Honest, the Publick-spirited, the True Protestant, in a Word, the True *English* Man, heartily wishes for, and would cheerfully contribute towards the Support of the *Cevenois*.

And, indeed, Let the *Cevenois* go under what Name soever in other Countries, they ought not

with *English* Men, and Protestants, to pass for Rebels; since they act upon the same Principle by which the late Revolution was happily accomplish'd, and the Imperial Crown of these Realms, lawfully settled upon Her present Majesty, and the *Protestant Line*, to the Exclusion of the Titular Prince of *Wales*, and all other *Popish* Pretenders.

And indeed, according to *Grotius*, it is a receiv'd Maxim, That * *Subjects* are not bound to obey the Magistrate, when he decrees any thing contrary either to the Law of Nature or of *GOD*.

The same Learned Author explains himself more at large upon this nice and critical Subject: * I own, says he, That since the first Institution and Settlement of Civil Societies, the Chief Governours of each, have acquir'd a special Right over the People under them: But if the Injury be manifest; if a *Busiris*, a *Phalaris*, a *Thracian Diomedes* (had *Grotius* liv'd in our Days, he might have instanc'd in other Tyrants) Treats his Subjects in such a Manner, as no Good and Just Man will justifie; in this Case, the Right of humane Society, or the Law of Nature, may take Place.

* Subditi obedire non debent Magistratui, si quid juri naturali aut Divino adversum statuat. * Sane ex quo civiles Societates institutæ sunt, certum est Reſtoribus cujusque speciale quoddam in suos jus quæsitum: At si manifesta sit injuria; si quis *Busiris*, *Phalaris*, *Thrax Diomedes*, ea in subditos exerceat, quæ Equo nulli probentur, non ideo præclusum erit Jus humanæ societatis. Imo etiam si daretur, ne in summa quidem necessitate, Arma recte a subditis sumi, (qua de re dubitare vidimus illos ipsos, quorum institutum fuit Regiam Potestatem defendere) non tamen inde sequetur, non posse pro ipsis ab aliis Arma sumi. Sic *Seneca* existimat Bello a me peti posse, qui a mea Gente sepositus, suam exagitat: Quæ res sæpe cum Defensione innocentium Conjuncta est. *Grotius*, de jure Belli & Pacis: Lib. II. Cap. XXV.

But,

But, adds Grotius, tho' we should suppose, that even in the last Extremity, it is not lawful for Subjects to take up Arms (a Position which we have seen call'd in Question by those very Authors who made it their Business to defend kingly Power and Prerogative) it will not therefore follow, that others may not take up Arms for them. Thus Seneca is of Opinion, That a Prince may make War upon another Prince his Neighbour, who oppresses his own Subjects; because such a War is often attended with the Protection of the Innocent.

These were the Maxims to which the Renowned Queen ELIZABETH ow'd, in some Measure, the Prosperities of Her long Reign: For during near Thirty Years that the Wars about Religion lasted in France, She did constantly interpose, and supported the Protestant Party, sometimes with Men, but oftener with Money; so that she had near half of that Kingdom depending on Her. In the Netherlands, a long Continuance of Civil Wars and Distractions on the same Score, gave her the like Advantages; so that her Reigning above Forty Four Years with such constant Success, in so great Tranquillity at Home, with such increase of Wealth, and with such Glory abroad, may justly be ascrib'd to the particular Blessing of Heaven on the Piety and Justice of a Queen, who maintain'd the true Religion, and reliev'd the oppressed all over Europe.

On the other Hand, 'twill ever be a Shadow on the Character of King James I. his Lethargick Supinity in Relation to his Son-in-law's Concerns; out of which, neither the Cries of that Excellent Princess His Daughter, nor Her Children; nor the repeated Sollicitations of his Parliament in their Fa-
 your.

your were able to awaken him : For thereby the Protestant Religion was entirely rooted out of *Bohemia*; the Electoral Dignity transferr'd from the *Palatine* into the *Bavarian* Family ; the *Palatinate* it self lost, and the Liberty of *Germany* overthrown.

Whilst King *Charles* the First acted by himself, without the influence of his Bigotted, Imperious French Queen, he follow'd the Example of Queen *Elizabeth*. For in the Year 1626. His Majesty sent the Earls of *Holland* and *Carleton* to *Paris*, to induce *Lewis XIII.* to grant Peace to the *Rochellers*, and to redemand the Ships of War *England* had sent the French the preceding Year ; and by whose Help, the *Rochel* Fleet had been destroy'd, and that important Protestant City left without Defence by Sea. These Ambassadors having receiv'd an unsatisfactory Answer, the Court of *England* resolv'd to assist *Rochel*. This put the French Court upon clapping up an Accommodation with the *Rochellers* ; but the latter finding that *Richelieu* had done this only to gain time, and that *Thoiras*, the Governour of the Isle of *Rhee*, was erecting new Fortifications, and kept others standing, contrary to Agreement, they petition'd the King of *England*, by *Soubize*, to assist them against the Designs of the Court. The *English* hereupon break with *France*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* with a considerable Force, makes a Descent on the Isle of *Rhee* ; but is beaten back with Loss, and *Rochel* closely block'd up.

The King of *France*, that he might meet with no further Interruption from the *English*, began to tamper with King *Charles's* Ministers ; of which the Deputies of *Rochel* having got Wind, they presented a Memorial to King *Charles*, wherein they plainly shew'd him

him, that the Peace which was in Agitation between the Two Crowns, was only a Snare laid for him, to withdraw him from the Interest of the *Rochellers*, that they might more easily be destroy'd. The Duke of *Buckingham* was indeed forward enough to relieve them, both with Men and Provisions; but Things began now to be manag'd so strangely in *England*, thro' the Insinuations of a *Povish* Queen and her Cabal, that the *Rochellers* were like to be abandon'd. However, the Earl of *Denbigh*, with a Fleet of Fifty Men of War, and Forty Victuallers, attempted to give them Succour; but so faintly, that only one Shallop got into the Town. Some time after, the Earl of *Lindsey*, with an *English* Fleet, appear'd again in Sight of the Isle of *Rhee*; but after having exchange'd some few Cannon-Shot with the *French* Fleet, the Lord *Montague* had a private Conference with Cardinal *Richelieu*, about an Accommodation, contrary to the earnest Instances of the Deputies of *Rochel*, aboard the *English* Fleet. Whereupon, the *Rochellers* (perceiving plainly, that the Court of *England* assisted them only to avoid the Discontents of the *English* Nation, who earnestly desir'd their Relief) were constrain'd to accept of such Conditions as Cardinal *Richelieu* would grant them.

After the Surrender of *Rochel*, King *Charles*, by his * Envoy at *Geneva*, made repeated Promises to assist the Duke of *Roan*, who maintain'd the *French* Liberties, and the Protestant Religion in the *Cevennes* and *Languedoc*, against the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Montmorency*; but these Promises had no Ef-

* See D. of *Roan's* Memoirs.

fest ; and in 1629. King *Charles* made a Peace with *Lewis*, who soon after triumph'd over all the Protestants in his Kingdom ; which did not a little * contribute to widen the Breach between King *Charles* and his Parliament, and to aggravate the Misfortunes of that Prince and Martyr.

'Tis altogether needless to insist any longer, either on the Lawfulness of assisting our Protestant Brethren in *France*, or on the Confutation of the Exploded Doctrine of Passive Obedience, under the Reign of a QUEEN, who looks on her Title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, as the brightest Gem in her Diadem ; and who daily bestows distinguishing Marks of Favour on those * who have signaliz'd their Zeal, in asserting the Rights and Liberties of their Country.

But supposing it were neither *Lawful* nor safe for Princes to encourage Insurrections in one another's Dominions : This Maxim cannot take Place, at least in time of War, when 'tis agreed by all, that one may annoy the Enemy any Way : Nor ought it to be, at any time, regarded with the King of *France*, who chiefly owes his Grandeur to the Divisions he has industriously rais'd and fomented amongst his Neighbours, even in Times of profound Peace ; and who, at this present Juncture, has arm'd Part of the Empire, against the Empire it self : In this Case, *Fas est*

* See *Wellwood's Memoirs*.

* 'Tis remarkable, That Part of the Preamble of the Patent for creating the E. of Normandy a Duke runs thus : Cujus conspicuis animi Dotibus, & in asserendis Patria, & Libertatibus Populi, Vigilantiæ, Ardori, & Peritiæ Regii nostri Antecessores tantam Gratiâ rependere consensisse videntur, ut pæne prærepta sit nobis Occasio, unicuique restet Fastigium quo provehamus, eoque testemur quanti æstimamus Virtutes, etiam illustri Sanguine Nobiliores ; aliisque Merendi incentamenta porrigamus.

& *ab Hoste Doceri*; 'tis lawful to be Taught by one's Enemy.

The ADVANTAGE that shall result from the speedy and effectual Support of the *Cevenois*, will appear to be greater than it seems to be at first Sight, if we consider, That nothing but an intestine Convulsion is almost able to shake the immense Power of the *French King*. I suppose his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough* will maintain and secure what he gain'd last Year, by the Addition of new Conquests this Summer: I suppose likewise, that the Duke of *Bavaria* may be reduc'd and disarm'd; and that Prince *Eugene* will then be able to act offensively in *Italy*, which is the utmost of what we can reasonably hope: But what will all this signify against a Monarch whose Dominions are every where defended by a Double, and in some Places, by a Treble Barrier? And whose Fortified Towns in *Flanders*, and on the *Rhine*, and the *Moselle*, will keep our Armies several Years at a Bay? The late King *William*, of Glorious Memory, was so sensible of this, that in the late War, he bestow'd much Pains and Money upon Engaging the Duke of *Savoy* to make an Irruption into *France*, which the Situation of his Country made easie to that Prince; and which would have had the desired Effect, had not his Royal Highness's Sicknefs, or rather the fair Promises of *France*, stopt him in the middle of his Career.

The Advantage of supporting the *Cevenois*, will further appear, if we reflect upon the great Diversion it will give to the Arms of *France*; for if *Mareschal de Montrevel* has not hitherto been able to suppress them with Twelve Thousand Men of regular Forces,
and

and near as many of the *Miquelets* and *Militia*; 'tis very probable, that if we should send them a Reinforcement only of Six Thousand Men, with a Competent supply of Arms and Ammunition, the *French* King would be oblig'd to send Twenty Thousand Men more into *Languedoc*, which he cannot spare from his Armies, either in *Flanders*, *Italy*, or on the *Rhine*.

Another Advantage would be, That the Protestants of the Neighbouring Provinces would be encourag'd to throw off the Mask, when they should see the Crown of *England*, heretofore their constant Support, once more engag'd in their Quarrel. And it is here to be observed, That the Mountains of *Cevennes* are link'd to others that make a Chain from the River *Rhone*, almost as far as the *Pyrenees*, all along which are Cities, Towns and Villages, mostly inhabited by Protestants.

But besides, as a great many *Roman Catholicks* are actually in Arms in Conjunction with the *Cevenois*; so a great many more would join with them to assert their Common Liberties, if they saw themselves supported by a Foreign Power. The Nobility of *France* depriv'd of their former Credit and Splendor; the Gentry of their Estates; the Merchants of their Trade; the Parliaments of their lawful Authority, and forc'd to be the passive Instruments of Arbitrary Power; the Learned among the Clergy, cramp'd and awed by the Ignorant, Bigotted and Supestitious, and even the whole Kingdom reduc'd to Beggary, Sigh and Long for a Deliverance; and would boldly throw off the Yoke, at the joyful Sight of the *English* Standard, once more set up in *France*. A great Part of that Kingdom (as the vast Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitain*,

tain, Touraine, Perche and Poictou, and the Counties of Ponthieu, Calais, Bolen, Ardres, and their dependencies) belong'd formerly to Her Majesty's Glorious Ancestors; and the Conquering of it would be no small Addition to Her Majesty's Dominions; and would transmit the Glories of Her Majesty's Reign to all succeeding Ages.

- Having shewn the *Lawfulness, Advantage and Glory* of this Enterprize, I am next to point at the *Ways and Means* to succeed in it; in order to which, a Description of the *Cevennes*, and an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Insurrection there, seem necessary to be premis'd.

The Country of the *Cevennes*, the most North-Eastern and mountainous Part of *Languedoc*, has the Dioceses of *Nismes* and *Lodève* on the South, *Rouergue* on the West, *Auvergne* and *Forez* on the North, and the River *Rhone* on the East. Under this Denomination *Geographers* generally comprehend Three small Countries, each of which keeps its separate States, after the general Assembly of the States of *Languedoc*, *Viz. Vivarais* on the East, *Gevaudan* on the West, and *Velay* on the North; but the *Cevenois*, properly so call'd, are those who inhabit the Mountains about *Anduze, Alais, Sommieres, St. Ambroise* and *St. Hippolite*.

The highest of those Mountains towards the North, are *Esperou, l'Auzare* and *les Gauls*, from whence spring several Rivers, such as *l'Allier, le Tar, le Heraut, la Vidourle, le Gardon, l'Ardecbe, &c*

This Country does not produce much Corn, but in recompence, it abounds in Chestnuts, Wine, Oil, Fruit
D and

and Herbs; and Feeds abundance of Cattle, Sheep, Goats and Swine; so that the *Cevenois* want nothing for the support of Life, and can never be reduc'd by Famine; their Chestnuts alone being able to keep them from starving, all the Year round.

The Mountains in those Parts are very near one another, but so intercut by the foremention'd Rivers, that the space between are generally narrow Defiles, and difficult Passes, where 'tis impossible for Four Men to go a Breast; and where a Hundred will be able to stop a Thousand. And tho' the *French* King has of late Years caus'd several Roads to be made, not only ~~the~~ the Rivers, but to the very Top of the Mountains; yet those Roads are so strait, that no more than one Cart or Coach can go at once in them. And besides, they have been lately made useles and unpassable by the *Cevenois*, so that the Horse is altogether unserviceable here.

The *Cevenois* were ever accounted the best Soldiers in *France*: They are very good Marks-Men with a Gun; extream *adroit* with the Sword, and undaunted in Fight. They cannot want Captains to Discipline them; there being amongst them, several Officers who have serv'd in the *French* King's Armies; and abundance of Troopers, and Dragoons of the Earl of *Galway's* and Marquis *de Miremont's* late Regiments; who upon the first News of an Insurrection in the *Cevennes*, did generously go thither from several Parts, to assist their Country-Men and fellow Protestants.

One of their Leaders, is one *Roland*, to whom some give the Title of *Count*, and whom they say to have been either a Lieutenant Colonel of Foot, or
Captain

Captain of Horse in the *French* King's Service. They add, that he is a Native of the *Cevennes*, and a *Roman* Catholick by Birth; but that nevertheless Commiserating the Protestants, whom the Fury of Persecution forc'd out of the Kingdom; he adventur'd to say, *That they might one Day Return with Sword in Hand*. This bold Word cost him dear: He was committed to the *Bastille*, where he remain'd Prisoner till the Peace of *Ryswick*, when being set at Liberty, he went into *Holland*, and there abjur'd the Errors he had suck'd in with his Mother's Milk. Some time after he return'd into the *Cevennes*, and put himself at the Head of one of the Parties of the *Malecontents* there. Others affirm, that Count *Roland* is a Romantick Person, but whatever it be, the Man who bears that Name, has signaliz'd his Conduct and Bravery amongst the *Cevenois*.

The Number of the *Cevenois* actually in Arms, is generally computed at Fifteen Thousand: Guns they do not want so much as Gun-Powder; for tho' they have the chief Ingredient of it, *to wit*, Salt-Peter; yet they want another no less necessary, which is Brimstone.

These People are not only Valiant, but withall Laborious, Sober and Industrious, and drive the most considerable Woollen-Trade of all *France*; there being several Manufactures set up amongst them, which supply'd not only that Kingdom, but *Spain*, *Italy*, *Sicily* and the *Levant*, with several sorts of *Caddis's*, *Serges* and *Cloths*; and the Interruption of which, will go near to break the Woollen-Drapers in *Nimes*, *Montpelier*, *Uzes*, *Lions* and *Marseilles*.

The

The *Protestants* in the *Cevennes* are so numerous, that they are at least Ten to one *Papist*: And 'twas heretofore observ'd, that in many Places, the Priest said Mass only for his Clark, himself and the Walls.

God Almighty had vouchsafed to illuminate this People with the Truths of the Gospel, several Ages before the Reformation, by Means of the *Valdenses* and *Albigenses* who fled into those Mountains to avoid the Violence of the *Croisades* that were made to destroy 'em. This cruel Persecution did not so wholly extinguish that sacred Light in the *Cevennes*, but that some Sparks of it were preserv'd under its Ashes, which kindled afresh with more Brightness in the Beginning of the Reformation; insomuch, that in a very little Time, this Country was all *Protestant*: And here was held the first Synod of the Reformed Clergy, in a Cave below a Hamlet call'd *Agladines*, Five Miles from *Anduze*, where Fourteen or Fifteen Ministers resolv'd to propagate the Gospel in the Neighbouring Provinces, which they effected with great Success.

In the Year 1683, the *Protestants* of the Southern Parts of *France* drew up a Project, which had it been made sooner, or even then constantly and vigorously follow'd, would, most probably, have stop't the Persecution, and which was, not to comply any longer with the Edicts and Declarations given against them, (in order to pull down their Churches, forbid their Assemblies, put their Pastors into Prison, &c.) But to obey God rather than Men, and generously to encounter Death and Martyrdom, still keeping themselves in a Passive and Defensive way. But the Inhabitants of the Wealthiest Cities, such as *Montpellier*, *Nimes*, *Uzer*, *Montauban*, *Castres*, and such where the

the number of *Papists* prevail'd, would not assent to put this Project in Execution. They being thus divided, and having besides no body to Head them, nor any settled Correspondence among themselves, this brave and Christian Resolution was only perform'd in some Parts of the *Cevennes*, and of the Valleys of *Dauphiné*, where it serv'd for a pretence to the wicked Ministers of the *Popish* Barbarities, to represent them in Foreign Parts, as a set of seditious Men. However they never attack'd or disturb'd any body; but because the Kings Dragoons pursued them into Forests and Desarts, whithersoever they might retire themselves, the Men went armed to protect the Women and Children. The Kings Officers were so diligent, that they seiz'd on some of the most Courageous, and got them broken upon the Wheel; but notwithstanding these cruel Executions the rest remained United, and forc'd the Intendant of *Languedoc* to grant Passes to 500 of them, and cause them safely to be Conducted to the Territories of *Spain*. From whence, after they had suffer'd much by the blind and barbarous Zeal of the *Spaniards* and the Inquisition, some, at last, made their Escapes into *England* and *Holland*, and afterwards Signaliz'd their Bravery in the Service of the Allies, and particularly in the Reduction of *Ireland*.

The *Protestants* that remain'd in the *Cevennes* were from time to time comforted and kept steady in the Faith, by the preaching of several Ministers, who, with a firmness of Soul truly Apostolical, adventur'd to go into *France* to visit their Brethren in Affliction. But after the Martyrdom of the famous Mr. *Claude Brousson*, and of several other *Protestant* Missionaries, and the third miraculous Escape of Mr. *Roman*, from the Hands of the Intendant's *Archers*, the *Cevenois* were altogether destitute of Spiritual Food. The Intendant being weary of Tormenting and Butchering Innocent People, had recourse to a new kind of

Persecution, which is to deprive the *Protestants* of their real Estates, upon several frivolous Pretences, particularly because some of their near Relations are dead either in *France* without professing *Popery*, or in *Protestant* Countries. Another way to squeeze the *Protestants* is to take their Children from them, and put them to board in *Popish* Seminaries and Nunneries, obliging the Parents to allow them Pensions much larger than they are able to pay, and in which the Bishops, under whose Authority those Children are confin'd, have no less a share than a Crown out of Five. This is the reason that the Covetous *French* Clergy do not much care to find the *Protestants* compliable to the King's Will, an instance of which happen'd lately in the *Cevennes*. The Bishop of *Alais* being come to *Vigan*, sent for the Curate of the Place, and ask'd of him a List of the Boys and Girls whom he did not think to be sufficiently Instructed in the *Romish* Religion. The Curate having made a List of Fifteen or Sixteen of them, brought it to the Bishop, who with great surprize told him: *what! No more? Truly, this is far from my Reckoning: I must have Forty at least. But, my Lord,* reply'd the Curate, *the rest do their Duty,----- No matter for that,* answer'd the Prelate, *You must make up my Number:* which Order the Curate instantly obey'd.

When by these unwarrantable Methods the *Papists* thought to have got an intire Victory over the Resolution of the *Protestants*, Providence did miserably baffle their Hopes, by the Ministry of those very Children whom they had taken so much care to instruct in their Erroneous Tenents, and who like so many Prophets rous'd their Parents out of their spiritual Lethargy. These new and unlook'd for Preachers did not a little surprize the *Papists*, who to prevent the Effects of their Exhortations, endeavour'd to insinuate that they were taught by some Impostors; and caus'd some of them to be severely Whipt, and others to have the
Soles

Soles of their Feet burnt, to make them confess the Authors of what they spoke. All this having not been able to extort any thing from these young Prophets, and their Number being in a little time encreas'd (in the *Cevennes* and the *Lower-Languedoc*) to near Eight Thousand, Monsieur *de Basville*, the Intendant of the Province, order'd the College of Physicians of *Montpelier* to meet at *Uzès* and examine these Children. Pursuant to this Order the Physicians observ'd their Behaviour, Trances, and *Entempore* Speeches; but tho' they were surpriz'd to hear young and illiterate Persons utter things which they had never been taught, and quote the Scripture very pertinently, yet being over-aw'd by the Intendant, they gave them the Name of *Fanaticks*. On the other hand, the Curiosity of *Protestants*, being by this time turn'd into an eager Zeal to see and hear these Miraculous Messengers of Heaven, several Assemblies were made almost every Day in the *Cevennes*, to suppress which, an Order was soon procured from the King to disperse them with Fire and Sword; without taking any Prisoners, by reason all the Goals in that Province were already full of *Protestants*. This cruel Order was punctually put in Execution; particularly within half a League of *Nismes*, near *Sauve*, at *La Selle*, *St. Felix*, and several other Places, where several *Protestants* were inhumanely Slaughtered, and Twenty two at once broke alive upon the Wheel, which constrain'd them, at last, to Arm themselves in their own Defence; and so they continued to Assemble in the Night-time, and repell'd Force by Force. However some of their Women falling now and then into the Hands of the King's Forces, who by the violence of Torments extorted from them the Names of such *Protestants* as were in Arms, the latter being inform'd of this Discovery, to avoid the Wheel, the Gibbet, or at least the Gallies, retreated into their Mountains and Fastnesses. Their

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number being increas'd to about Two hundred, the Abbot of *Chailar*, a Notorious Persecutor, found the means to surprize four of them, whom he confin'd in his Castle till he could get a strong Guard to conduct them safe to *Montpellier*. Their Companions having notice of it, resolv'd to wrest them from his Hands; and accordingly they surrounded the Castle, forced it open, kill'd all that oppos'd them, and the Abbot himself, and rescued their Friends. I would not have mention'd this Account of the young Prophets in *Languedoc*, if the Fact was not attested by a Crowd of Witnesses, and had not made so much Noise in *France*; But whatsoever Credit it may find in People's Minds in this doubting and over-Philosophical Age, this was the first Beginning of the Insurrection of the *Cevenois*, as I am inform'd by a Person lately come over from thence, who was an Ocular witness of the said Rescue.

Not long after there having been a Meeting of *Protestants* not far from *Uzès*, a Curate of the Neighbouring Town resolv'd to send the Intendant an Account of it by way of Verbal Process; and for that purpose went to a New-Convert, that sold Stamp-Paper, to whom he communicated his Design. This Man having endeavour'd to dissuade him from it, alledging, That they were Innocent People, who did no body any harm; the over Zealous Priest rebuk'd him severely for taking their Part, and told him, *He would not fail to recommend him to the Intendant*. He was as good as his Word; and thereupon the Intendant issued out an Order for the hanging up of this New-Convert, which without any further Tryal was immediately put in Execution. The *Cevenois* (who by this time were Headed by Count *Rol*) heard no sooner of it, but they gather'd in great Numbers, and having seiz'd the Priest, hang'd him up also by way of Reprizals.

These were the small springs from which the Insurrection

tion did first arise, which having met with Dispositions fitted to receive them, have swell'd into such a Torrent as carries all before it ; insomuch that Mareschal de Montrevel is forc'd to keep within the Fortified Towns.

I am now come to the main and most material part of my Task, which is to shew the Ways and Means of giving speedy and effectual Relief to these poor People, who with unparallel'd Courage, Resolution and Success have maintain'd themselves for above a Year, and given of late considerable Defeats to the *French* King's Troops, Headed by a Mareschal of *France* ; which must be ascrib'd to the particular Blessing of Heaven upon the Justice and Goodness of their Cause ; since they fight for the true Religion, and the *Magna Charta* of Mankind.

I take it for granted, that Her Majesty and Her most Honourable Privy-Council design forthwith to send a strong Squadron of Men of War into the *Mediterranean* ; which I would not mention, if that Resolution had not been already made Publick in some Printed Papers. And, indeed, as nothing is more remarkable in the whole Course of King *William's* Reign, than his Fleet riding Triumphantly in the *Mediterranean*, whereby an immediate stop was put to the Conquering Arms of *France* in *Catalonia* ; so nothing can countenance the just Designs of the Emperor in *Italy* so effectually, as an *English* Squadron being in the *Adriatick*.

Now tho' this Squadron be mainly design'd for the support of the *Imperialists*, yet it may at the same time be successfully employ'd for the Relief of the *Cevennois*, by Landing on the Coast either of *Provence* or *Languedoc*, such a number of Forces as Her Majesty and Allies may think convenient to send to their Assistance.

To make good this Overture I must answer two Objections. The first is, That the Allies have few Troops to spare ; and the second, The difficulty, if not impossibility, of Landing.

To the remove the first Objection, I answer, that if Her Majesty can spare none of Her *English* Forces, there are above Three hundred *French* Protestant Officers, near half of which are Natives of *Languedoc*, in Her Majesty's half Pay, upon the *Irish* Establishment, who are weary of being Idle, whilst others are employ'd abroad in the Service of Her Majesty and the Nation; and who, if they were Encourag'd, would undertake to raise Six thousand *French* men in a Month's time for the Relief of *Cevennois*. This I know from the Mouth of several of them; and to perswade such as might Question it, I need but mention with what Alacrity, Diligence and Success two *French* Captains in half Pay rais'd lately above a Hundred *French* Dragoons to Serve under the Earl of *Peterborough*, in his (then) intended Expedition to the *west-Indies*: For the truth of which I Appeal to that Noble and Illustrious Peer. Now if the *French* Protestants express such Willingness to serve Her Majesty in that part of the World, to which Her own Subjects shew the greatest Reluctance to follow their Commands, with how much more Zeal will they embrace this Opportunity to relieve their Persecuted Brathren, when they can at the same time advance the Good of the Common Cause? Nor would these *French* Officers want a Leader, there being to my certain Knowledge, several Persons amongst them, distinguish'd as well by their Birth, as by their former Military Employments, who would gladly undertake this Province, provided they were Authoriz'd by Her Majesty's Commission.

But besides this, 'tis more than probable that the King of *Prussia* and the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, who upon all Occasions have signaliz'd their Zeal for the Protestant Interest, will readily concur with Her Majesty in any Methods to assist the *Cevennois*: And in particular
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the *Dutch* have three Regiments of *French* Protestants who may be employ'd in this Service.

As to the Second Objection I own, that there will be great Difficulties in the *Landing*, but I deny them to be such as are insuperable; and therefore they ought not to make Her Majesty and Her Allies give over the Thoughts of assisting the *Cevennois*. For in great Undertakings 'tis not the Difficulties which necessarily attend them (else they would not be justly term'd Great) that Politicians ought to consider, so much as the great Advantages that will result from their Success.

The *Landing* at *Vigo*, and the forcing the *French* in *Rondella* Harbour, was attended with Success, and will make the Names of O R M O N D and R O O K E deservedly Immortal, since there were more Difficulties to surmount in that Attempt, than are like to be met with in relieving the *Cevennois*.

The particular place of *Landing* in the *Mediterranean*, I shall forbear to mention, lest I should give the Enemy a Hint to Fortifie it: But in case Her Majesty and Her Allies are pleased to encourage this Design, not only the Person who has communicated his Memoirs to me, but several other Natives either of the *Cevennes* or *Languedoc*, will make it plain, that there are more than one Place in the *Gulf of Lion*, where a Descent may be made with Success; since it will infallibly be favour'd by the *Cevennois* themselves, who are actually Masters of the Flat Country, and make incursions as far as within four Miles of the *Gulf*; and who having the opportunity to descry Ships at Sea from the top of their Mountains, will, upon a Signal from the Confederate Fleet, pour down upon the *French* King's Troops, if the latter should attempt to go out of the Fortified Towns, to oppose the *Landing* of our Auxiliaries.

The charge of this Expedition (supposing the Allies are resolv'd

resolv'd to send a Fleet into the *Mediterranean*) will bear so small a Proportion with the Importance of the Undertaking, that I should think it a Reflection on the Allies, to look upon it as an Objection worth Answering: However, if Her Majesty's Funds should be wholly anticipated by the other necessary Occasions of this Year, there is all the Reason to believe, that there are People in *England* so Zealous for the Support of the *Protestants* in *France*, that they will readily advance such Sums as shall be necessary for this Pious and Glorious Undertaking.

I shall conclude by obviating an Exception which some over Cautious Persons might raise against the making this Design Publick: For as it will give fresh Spirit and Vigour to the *Cevenois*, to know that Foreign Powers will not abandon them; so it will encourage the other *Protestants* in *Dauphiné*, *Languedoc*, the Principality of *Orange*, *Guienne* and *Poitou* to shake off their Yoke; give Glory to God by an open Profession of the true Religion, and free themselves from the just Apprehensions they are under of being totally destroy'd, especially since the Publication of Mareschal *Montrevel's* unpolitick Declaration, whereby they are made accountable for any Mischance that shall happen to any *Roman Catholick*.

God Almighty, who has already inspir'd Her Sacred Majesty, and Her Royal Consort, with a desire of relieving the *Cevenois* (insomuch that their daily Discourse is about the means of effecting it) will, I hope, encline Her Majesty's Council to hearken to those who being thoroughly acquainted with the Coast of *Languedoc* and *Provence*, will offer plausible means of Landing there.

The APPENDIX:

The Declaration published by the Marechal de Montrevel, against the New Converts in the Cevennes, is as follows.

By Order from His Majesty.

WE, Nicholas de la Baume Montrevel, Marechal of France, General of the King's Armies, Lieutenant-General of his Majesties Forces in Burgundy, and Commander in Chief in the Upper and Lower Languedoc, being inform'd, that there are daily, and in several Places, Assemblies of wicked People who commit all manner of Crimes, and continue to Massacre the Ancient Catholicks, and Burn the Churches, and that the Inhabitants of several Places, that were newly Converted, are so far from repelling such Violences, that they favour them to the utmost of their Power, or give no notice of their March, dwelling in Places where they are as quiet as if the whole Country were not under an Obligation to fall upon them, and that some of those Towns and Villages, have shew'd their good Will to them, so far as to fall upon the King's Troops.

We think fit to commit all Priests, Ecclesiasticks, Monks, Ancient Catholicks, and the Churches, to the Care of the new Converts and Communities, and Declare, that if any Accident befall them, the Communities shall be Responsible for them, and that they shall be burnt and intirely destroyed the next Day after any such Enterprize; or any of the unheard of Cruelties lately exercis'd, shall be committed. Moreover We Declare, That if it happen that any Soldier of the King's Troops be found kill'd in any of the Communities or Villages, the Place shall also be Responsible for him, and Punish'd in like manner. And to the end that none may pretend Ignorance of these Presents, We command the Syndicks

of all the Diocesses, to take care that this Ordinance be read, publish'd and affix'd every where: Of which Publication in each Community, they shall produce to us a Certificate in Eight Days. We Command all Mayors and Consuls to see to the strict Execution of this Ordinance, on pain of answering for the same, in their own Names.

*Given at Quissac, the 24th of February, 1703.
Sign'd Marechal de Montrevel.*

Quissac is two Leagues distant from Sommieres, and at the like distance from St. Hippolite.

The following Letter from a very good Hand, gives the following Account of the Posture of Affairs in the Cevennes.

TH E Marechal of Montrevel had upon his Arrival 12000 Men under his Command, besides the Militia and some Troops belonging to the Marine, but this Number has proved too weak against the Malecontents. These *Camisars* are divided into 8 or 10 Bodies, and every where make Head against the King's Forces. There have happened several Rencounters, wherein whole Regiments have been cut in pieces, no Quarter being given on either side. The worst is, that when any Town or Village is suspected to have given any Retreat or other Assistance to the *Camisars*, either by Force or otherwise, they are destroyed with Fire, and Men, Women and Children, above 12 Years of Age, are put to the Sword without Mercy. *Quissac* and *Sauve* have undergone that dismal Fate, and *Sommieres* was likewise some Days ago reduced to Ashes, because the Malecontents had defeated 3 Companies therein. The *Camisars*, to the number of 1400 Men, Commanded by Count *Roland*, came this Week near *Montpelier*, where they were Attacked by the Troops of the Marine. The Action was very hot, and a great many Men were killed on both sides. The King lost many brave Officers
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in that Rencontre. Their number increases instead of being weakned by the daily Skirmishes that happen, and they are punctually paid. The Marechal of *Montrevel* seems wholly bent to deprive them of all means of Subsistence, by carrying away all the Provisions his Troops can find, and 'tis said, he designs to build a Redoubt for the defence of *Pont St. Esprit*, because there is reason to fear an Insurrection in the *Dauphiné*. The *Camisars* beat some Days ago a Party who had under their Guard the Curate of *Sumenes*, and killed 22 Men. They beat likewise, and pursued to the Gates of *Nismes*, another Party of the Kings Troops. They defeated 2 Companies at *Fourgues*, and 45 Men with a Captain, who came out of *Beaucaire*. Just now we have received advice that a Detachment of the *Camisars* is advanced to *La Roque*, within 2 Leagues of *Pont St. Esprit*, which causes a great alarm in those Parts. The Marechal of *Montrevel* demands 20000 Men for suppressing that Insurrection.

Another Letter from Nismes, dated April the 10th. N. S.

THE Marechal de *Montrevel* has caus'd all the Inhabitants of this City, both *Protestants* and *Roman Catholics* to be disarm'd: Fearing the Consequences of the Murther of above 80 Persons, (most of them Women and Children, who were surpriz'd praying to God in a Mill,) which was done in his own Presence; and which is generally spoken against by People of both Perswasions. Among other particulars of that Barbarity, the following Instance raises the Indignation of all that retain any Sense of Humanity: There was a young Gentlewoman of a very good Family in that Assembly, who espying a Footman of the Marechal's among the Executioners, gave him a Diamond Ring, of great Value, to save her Life, with a Promise of a greater Reward. The Footman more merciful than his Master, did whatever he could, but

to no purpose; for she was butcher'd with the rest. However the Marechal being inform'd, that his Footman had endeavour'd to preserve her, he caus'd a Gibbet to be set up to hang him for that Act of Humanity: But several Ladies interceding in his behalf, *Montrevel* was prevail'd upon, to spare his Life, and contented himself with having him severely whipp'd by the Common Hang-man. The *Camisars* had no sooner notice of these Cruelties, but they set a Price (some say Four Thousand *Louis-D'Ors*) upon *Montrevel's* Head; and in the mean time they order'd Monsieur *Marcillan*, a Man of great Consideration in this Province, whom they had lately taken, to be broke alive upon the Wheel. This done, they dispatch'd one of Mr. *Marcillan's* Servants to the Marechal, to acquaint him, that as long as he shall cause their Comrades, that fall into his Hands, to be executed by the Hangman, they will retaliate it on such of the *Roman Catholics*, as they shall take fighting against them.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since you desire to know the Origin of the Word *Camisars*: I must acquaint that this Name was given to the *Cevenois*, ever since the Duke of Rohan sent a Detachment of them to the Relief of *Montauban*, which *Lewis XIII.* had besieg'd. And tho' of a Thousand Five Hundred only got into the City, yet they caus'd the Siege to be rais'd, after having kill'd, in one of their Sallies, the famous Mr. *de Montjoye*, who falling on the Ground, said: *A Camisar has kill'd me.* Now the word *Camisar*, comes from *Camise*, which in the *Languedocian* Dialect signifies a *shirt*: Because the *Cevenois* wore then short Doublets, and let their shirts hang a little out behind, for a mark of Distinction. Just now we hear that the Malecontents are increas'd to upwards of 25000.

